critical ripening period and the early stages of the harvest, someone is always present to keep watch over the *padi* (Plate 15). At Rumah Nyala in 1949-50, there were 12 *bilek* families with substantial *langkau umai*, suitable for semi-permanent residence, while 14 others had less pretentious huts, which were only slept in during periods of special vigilance.

127. The months of November and December, when weeding is taking place, cover critical stages in the growth of the young *padi*. According to Iban notions, the *padi* plant is liable to become afflicted with a range of various illnesses (*tabin*), and they apply to these the same terms used to describe certain human ailments. Green smut, for example, which attacks and destroys single kernals, substituting for them large sclerotial masses of its own, is equated with warts (*butir*). Again, *padi* is often described as suffering from a cold (*renga*) or a headache (*pedra*). While the young *padi* is forming a careful watch is kept over the farm, and if any disease makes itself evident, rituals are at once performed. The general purpose of these rituals (*memalj umai*) is to restore the ailing *padi* to health. If the trouble be serious, a clump of *padi pun* is taken to the long-house, placed in a shrine (*ranyai*), and the gods summoned to succour and treat it. It is then carried back to the farm to be re-planted, where prayers are uttered (cf. Para. 61), and magical potions scattered over the rest of the growing *padi*. At the same time magical rites directed at driving away insect and animal pests are widely performed.

Traps, and Other Protective Devices

128. During the period of weeding the men begin to turn to the devising of other measures for the protection of their crops. A common stratagem is the building of a strong palisade of stakes bordering those parts of the farm judged to be especially prone to attack by deer and pigs. Others wait until the panicles have emerged and then clear a lane, five or six yards in width, along the main farm boundaries. The theory is that animals are wary of exposing themselves by crossing this circumvallation, and that if they do take the risk there is a good chance of their being seen and chased away. Traps are also widely used, there being three main types:

(*a*) the *peti*, a spear-trap for pigs,
(*b*) the *bubong*, a large box-trap for monkeys,
(*c*) the *tinya*, a spring-pole trap for smaller animals.

Most popular of all is the *peti*. It consists of an upturned, forked sapling, one limb of which is embedded firmly in the ground, while the other, to which an extremely sharp, fire-hardened, bamboo spear is fastened, is held back at high tension, leaving a narrow space (about 24"—26") just wide enough to permit the passage of a pig; across this space is suspended a fine fibre, which when displaced by a few inches trips a trigger, and releases the spear (Plate 13). The setting of a *peti* involves very careful measurement, for it is so designed that the spear will strike the pig (*babi:* Sus barbatus) in its most vital part. These *peti* are scattered along the edge of a farm, and especially in those places where pig tracks have been detected. Because of the danger to wandering humans, warning signs (consisting of a cross-stick in a notched upright) are usually erected, but it is always necessary to move with caution when approaching an Iban farm, by other than the main paths. Not infrequently mock traps and signs are also erected, further to alarm and confuse the pigs. The *bubong* is a large box-shaped trap, built of stout poles or logs, and baited with cucumbers, pawpaws and the like; dislodgement of the bait trips the trigger and causes a heavy lid to fall, cutting

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

off all way of escape. These traps are placed on level ground at the edge of a farm, and are directed against the *kra* (Macaca irus) and the *nyumboh* (Macacus nemestrinus), two species of monkey, both of which raid farms to eat the *upa*, or pith of the growing *padi*, and frequently cause serious damage. The *tinya* is a spring-pole snare with a tread-board and key-stick. Although the *tinya* is chiefly employed for trapping birds (in particular, the *ruai*, or Argus pheasant), it is also sometimes set in the jungle surrounding a farm, to catch small animals such as the porcupine, which has a penchant for cucumbers and other catchcrops. All of these traps are independently set by *bilek* families, and at Rumah Nyala, most men specialized in one type, so that not once did I encounter two different kinds of trap on the same farm.

129. Other families try to protect their *padi* by erecting aeolian alarms at different points on the farm. A common type consists of a length (about 4 ft.) of mature and well-dried bamboo, its central internode left untouched, but the two ends pared away so they gradually taper to a point. Between these two points is strung a strip of bark, so that under tension the bamboo becomes bent like a bow; then, in the centre of the plaited bark, a hardwood clapper is fastened. With a sewn, palm-frond sail (about 2 ft. × 3 ft.) suspended from its base, this bow is hung from a lofty pole, and as it sways and plunges in the wind over the ripening *padi*, it gives out a resonant and cacophonous sound disturbing to wild animals.

130. These various expedients—pallisades, traces, traps and aeolian alarms—all contribute to the defence of a farm, but they are never sufficient in themselves. In January or February, when the whole crop begins to mature, more active measures have to be taken. It is then that subsidiary watch-houses are built, and brought into regular use. Some *bilek* families take up permanent residence in their *langkau umai*, and the others try to arrange that at least one of their number spends the night in guarding the *padi*. All Iban are convinced that the jungle is inhabited by spirits, and some, like the dreaded *antu gerasi*—the 'spectre huntsmen' of the forest—are believed to attack human beings, causing sickness and death. The existence of these and other perils of the night means that a woman is not prepared to stand solitary guard in a *langkau umai*, but always insists on having the company of another woman, or her older children. Because of this fear small *bilek* families are often at a disadvantage. (The failure of the crop of one *bilek* family at Rumah Nyala—No. 14—was directly attributable to the fact that the only female worker, a girl of about 15 years, was afraid to visit the farm alone, and as a result it was very inadequately weeded and guarded). Men, on the other hand, do keep solitary watch, and regularly patrol their farms at night. To-day, 12-bore shot-guns are coming into general use (in January, 1950, 14 of the 25 *bilek* families of Rumah Nyala possessed shot-guns), and these greatly aid the farmer in his task. In 1950, several of the more energetic and conscientious men of Rumah Nyala constructed rough shooting platforms at the edge of their farms, and there lay in wait, night after night, during February and March. Deer, pigs, monkeys and a bear were among the animals shot in this way. Men not possessing guns patrol their farms once or more during the night armed with a long-handled, hunting spear (*sangkoh*) and a bush-knife (*duku*), and often accompanied by dogs.

131. Women (and old men) adopt purely defensive measures. Brass gongs (*bebendai*) are hung from the rafters of the *langkau*, and beaten at regular intervals throughout the night. Others rely on a simple xylophone, consisting of a single, straight bough (6 ft. × 6 ins. in diameter, and taken from the *lup* tree), which,

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areas where it has all been felled, the inhabitants find themselves in something of a plight, and long journeys have to be made to secure essential materials. Again, proximity to *kampong* ensures good and varied supplies of food—relishes to enliven the monotony of rice—for in the rain forest there are many opportunities for the hunter, and the streams are well stocked with fish.

The Krukoh Method

268. In the ordinary course of events the magico-religious rites that precede the felling of virgin jungle are performed in May or early June, and thereafter the cycle of cultivation follows the course already described. By the time reaping is completed, in the following March or April, regeneration of the forest has begun—young plants are springing up amid the *padi* stubble (*ierami*), and in the places least affected by the burn there is vigorous coppice growth. By July, a dense, though still diminutive scrub has established itself, and the farm has reached the *krukoh* stage.

269. When pioneering virgin territory it is normal Iban practice to slash this *krukoh* scrub in late July or early August, and after it has been fired, to sow the land once more with *padi*—that is, for a second year in succession. To farm in this way is to *ngrukoh*, or to *bekrukoh*, and for the Iban it is the generally accepted mode of procedure when virgin jungle is being worked. In all the pioneer areas visited by me, *krukoh* farming was an established practice. The Iban themselves look upon it as completely normal, legitimate and economic; and from their testimony (I discussed this matter with scores of different informants), it is clear that *krukoh* farming has been a customary method of land usage for very many years. We need not be surprised at this state of affairs, for the practice of taking two or three consecutive crops from forest land has been reported from many other parts of South-East Asia.[1] Indeed it seems to be the prevalent system among shifting cultivators who have ample reserves of forest land at their disposal.

270. Among the Iban it does sometimes happen that the whole of a *kampong* farm is cultivated for two years in succession, but the much more common system is to re-plant only about one-half to two-thirds of the old farm, and to make up the desired acreage by felling a further area of virgin forest. All of the *bilek* families whose farms contained a substantial proportion of virgin jungle in 1949-50, adopted this method. Iban social organization being what it is, there are in this system of gradual advance certain definite advantages. The *bilek* family, which is the basic unit in Iban agriculture, is restricted in numbers, and many *bilek* families have only one male in their labour team. This means that for many families the task of felling three or four acres of virgin jungle is a formidable one, and difficult to maintain year after year. If, however, an initial area of say three acres is felled, and about half of it cultivated for two years in succession, then the family concerned has only to clear one to two acres of new jungle to bring its farm up to the required size. By adopting this method a *bilek* family is able to farm well within its labour resources, and—at the same time—steadily to increase its land holdings.

271. A further advantage of this twofold system (from the Iban point of view) is that it lessens the chance of adverse weather interfering with the all-important

[1] For example, the cultivation of hill *padi* for two or more consecutive years has been reported in Malaya ("Padi Planting Methods in Malaya," M. A. J., Vol. 27, 1939, p. 58), in Sumatra (Danhof, 1940, p. 199), in the Philippines (Copeland, 1924, p. 22) and in Southern India (Ramiah, 1937, p. 12 and Fürer-Haimendorf, 1945, p. 78 seq.).

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9. After the firing of the farms: the burn has been a bad one and to clear the land for sowing the farmer is gathering scattered branches and making bonfires of them. This operation is called *ngebak*. Photograph taken on 3rd October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 372

10. Dibbling taking place. The man is wearing a loin-cloth (*sirat*), the traditional garment of Iban males. Photograph taken on 15th October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X 291

11. An Iban woman sowing *padi*. The burn has been an exceedingly poor one, but the farmers have no recourse but to sow their *padi* amid the fallen timber that still covers the land. The woman is wearing a sun-hat (*tanggi*). Photograph taken on 3rd September, 1949; Sungai Saban, Ulu Sut, Kapit District.

12. A young Iban girl amid ripening *padi*; on another part of the farm reaping is already in progress. The stumps are those of virgin jungle (*kampong*), and beyond lie the hills of the Mujong. Photograph taken on 21st February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X

13. A young man setting a spear-trap (*peti*) at the edge of his farm to protect it from wild pigs. He is wearing a hand-woven jacket (*kelambi*). Photograph taken on 4th March, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 224 291

14. A watch-house (*langkau umai*); with walls and roofing of bark, it is strategically placed in the centre of the farm. In the foreground young *padi* is springing up. Against the front wall of the hut a tying-frame (used in *ikat* weaving) is leaning. Photograph taken on 21st February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 343 285

15. An Iban woman guarding her farm. The *padi* in the background—the second successive crop from virgin jungle—has already been reaped. Photograph taken on 20th February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X

16. Reaping in progress: the woman is gathering the panicles one by one and placing them in the reaping-basket (*sintong*) which is fastened about her waist. (The *padi* shown here is that of a test plot which gave a yield equivalent to 42·8 bushels per acre). Photograph taken on 24th April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

17. After reaping the *padi* is packed in large carrying baskets (*lanji*) and transported back to the *dampa* or long-house to be threshed. Photograph taken on 22nd April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 482 415

18. Winnowing taking place on the open platform (*tanju*) of a farm house (*dampa*). One woman pours the threshed grain from a basket (*baka*) while the other fans with a winnowing tray (*chapan*). Photograph taken on 12th April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X 415

19. A woman planting *sengkenyang*—magical plants which are believed to watch over and minister to the needs of the growing *padi*. They are planted close to the sacred rice (*padi pun*) in the centre of the farm. Photograph taken on 15th October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X

20. An old man and his daughter making an offering to the *padi* spirits (*antu padi*) during a *nganjong ka penyadai* ritual. This important ritual inaugurates the harvest. The offering (*piring*) can be seen resting on the ground between the two officiants. Photograph taken on 7th March, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 782

21. In the reaping basket (*sintong*) which this young man is carrying is the seed (*benih*) of the sacred rice (*padi pun*) of his *bilek* family. Dressed in an *ikat* jacket, worn in honour of the sacred rice, he is taking part in a ritual to celebrate the conclusion of the harvest. Photograph taken on 20th May, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 415 482 291

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Plate 13. Setting a spear-trap (*peti*) against wild pigs.

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Plate 14. A watch-house (*langkau umai*) built in the centre of a farm.

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908)1908-1910
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No. XXVIII.—Dyak Customs when setting pig traps.

By Rev. Wm. Howell.

224 To set pig traps is one of the Dyak's diversions in the field, it is executed with good omens of special kind, and good dreams are not excluded in the transaction.

There are two kinds of pig traps, *peti ngelanchar* and *peti panga*. These traps are very powerful, and seldom miss the vital parts of pigs of a certain size. They are carefully set and measured with their measurements called *tuntun*. These measurements *(tuntun)* are got up handsomely, decorated with the figures of men sitting on the tops of them. [324]

Dyaks go out in companies to set traps in the places where wild pigs are plentiful. Several hundred of these traps are set and on the seventh day they visit them, and bring the carcasses home. Every morning enquiries are made about the dream or dreams of every individual who is engaged in the pursuit.

784 224 In every pursuit of the Dyaks restrictions are almost incalculable, even excluding good omens of various kinds, and their transactions must therefore be executed with great caution and sagacity. The craving for success and the fear of mishap is such that delay in any transaction is not taken into consideration. The pursuit of setting pig traps therefore is not exempted from such.

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2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908)1908-1910
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539 Thread that Lulong used to ornament the hem of her jacket. "I will," screeched the black Monkey who chatters incessantly like the bugle sounding during gun drill (2). "I will," jabbered the pig-tailed Monkey who when in company with others makes a noise like a large army taking alarm.

"But what sort of work is it to make a paddy farm?" So asked all the animals. Then *Manang* Gagak spoke and told them of the work necessary in order to make a paddy farm. Said he, "First of all we must look for the land, and when that is obtained we must consult the omens; then comes the preliminary clearing, next the ordinary clearing, felling the trees, burning, sowing the seed, weeding, reaping, thrashing, drying, pounding, winnowing, cooking, and then it can be eaten." "Oh!" said the Pig. "it cannot be done. I would much rather invite my friends to root up the ground." "And I likewise," said the Deer. "It is much more pleasant for me to take my people to search for pasture." "And I too," said the Barking Deer. "It is far better for me to clear the stem of the *lengkan*." "I won't farm," said the bear. "It is very much better for me to rear bees that produce honey." "And I," said the mouse Deer, "it is very much nicer for me to wait for the *buan* fruit to drop." "I certainly won't farm," said the clouded Leopard, "It is very much nicer to live upon my neighbours." "I also don't intend to farm," quoth the Paradoxurus, "It is more convenient to search for the nests of the *sengayan* birds." "Indeed I will not farm," jabbers the grey Monkey, "I can keep myself on the pith of the *senggang senganan*." "My friends certainly won't farm," says the black Monkey, as he keeps on skinning the *brangan* fruit. "I also will not farm," chatters the squirrel who depends upon the blossoms of the wild *pinang* trees.

"If that is the general wish then all you animals will not farm," said *manang* Gagak. "But if you, Pig, taste our paddy you shall meet your death from the pig traps round your drinking haunt. If you eat our paddy you shall be ensnared by the *rotan* snare. If you, mouse Deer, eat our sweet potatoes you shall be caught up in a trap baited with *buan* fruit. If you, barking Deer, eat our casava you shall meet your death in a trap."

These were the warning words of *manang* Gagak to all the animals.

[224]

Notes. (1)—*Jerungkang*, a deadly bamboo spear trap.
(2)—This line is a recent interpolation and is interesting as it illustrates so remarkably the tendency to appropiate new ideas and words in the language.

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3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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245 flavoured variety. Pine-apples are seldom cultivated by the Dyaks, though they are found apparently in a wild state about most of their villages; in such situations the fruit is small and of little flavour, and it is remarkable that the Dyaks, who delight in the cultivated ones from the Chinese gardens at Sarawak, should take no care of their own.

423 The ancestors of the Dyaks having for many cen-
245 turies occupied the countries these people now inhabit, fruit trees are scattered in abundance all over its surface, particularly near the banks of rivers, and all jungles abound with them. The most esteemed kinds surround their villages, and these, with other in easily accessible places, are individual property; but those of the jungles are not owned, and the fruit of them generally becomes the property of the squirrels, monkeys, and birds, which frequent the forests containing them, unless the destructive Malay should see them, who, ever thoughtless of the future, immediately cuts down with his hatchet a tree which has taken many years to attain its fruiting state, and for the purpose of gathering a few for himself, destroys what might at some future time be of service to the Dyaks or others, who might, for the purposes of mining or agriculture, be compelled to reside in the vicinity.

224 As the woods of the country of the sea-Dyaks abound in pigs and deer, and the tribes are not prevented by any superstitious prejudice from eating the flesh of either of these animals, various contrivances are in use for their

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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capture. The most common for the purpose of catching the larger game is called by them 'peti:' it is a strong spear of bamboo, laid in a horizontal direction above the ground, about the height of the body of a pig or deer. A sapling, bent for the purpose, forms the spring by being held back; a string crosses the path of the animal, the least touch on which pulls the trigger by which the sapling is retained, and which, springing forward, forces the bamboo in a straight line across the path, and consequently through the body of any animal that may happen to be passing. As these traps are so placed as to be with difficulty discovered in the jungle, the traveller has to be careful, as to be transfixed with one of these spears set for deer, would occasion death. The Dyaks themselves, though very careful, have frequently met with such accidents.

A few weeks before leaving the country one of my men, who was bringing to the hut where we were staying, with his companions, a deer which had been shot for our dinner, missed the path in the dark, and struck his foot against a trap of this nature, which had been set for pigs; the spear transfixed his thigh, making a large and ragged wound, from which, however, he fortunately recovered; had it been a deer-trap instead of a pig-trap, the spear would have passed through his waist, and have certainly killed him. Pigs are also caught in pit-falls; ranjows, or sharp bamboos, being placed at the bottom, on which they fall. Ranjows are also planted on the steep sides of mountains, so that

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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224 the pigs, in hurrying down the declivity, often receive them in the breast, and being thus staked, soon bleed to death, and are discovered by the Dyaks. The smaller kinds of game, such as porcupines, palandok, or mouse-deer, small pigs, pheasants, and partridges, are caught in springes, and by those alone a clever woodsman can daily supply his family with this kind of food in abundance, the cord made use of for the [283] springes is of their own manufacture, very fine and strong; it is made from the inner bark of several kinds of trees. They have also cage-traps, into which the squirrels and mouse-deer are attracted by choice food, and which fall upon and detain them. Pigeons 223 and other birds are caught with springes and bird-lime placed in the trees which they frequent for food, particularly the different species of 'kayu ara' (Ficus), which are very abundant, and on which the many species of these birds delight to feed.

278 A practice of fishing, used by the Dyaks of all de-226 scriptions, and which has been observed also of the 824 natives of South America, with whom these people have many things in common, deserves particular notice. It is called fishing with tuba, and is thus carried on: large quantities of the tuba being collected, which is the root of a climbing plant (Menispermum), though the same effect is produced by the fruit of a tree grown extensively for that purpose, the tribe intending to fish proceed in their boats to the mouth of a small river, or creek, which has a bar

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban CC6
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universal or obligatory, and is only performed upon males. In the female the clitoris is said to be amputated.

The spritsail yard in the penis.—The *palang* is a smooth bar of bone or metal, the size and length of the bar of an ordinary watch-guard, with the ends rounded off. It is not generally so elaborate as the *utang* (perforation of penis) used by the Kyan chiefs, but it is equally effective and gratifying to the female. The *palang* is not, however, a Dyak institution; it originated with the Kyans, but it is fast becoming popular with at least a portion of the rising generation. It is nevertheless a pernicious practice, and ruinous to the male organ, even if the operation be skilfully performed; it is therefore to be hoped that the young fellows will discover their mistake before it is too late and refuse point blank to pander to the vitiated propensities of the looser behaved females. These latter encourage the practice for their own selfish purposes by every artifice in their power. The truth appears to be that no woman once habituated to its use will ever dream of permitting her bedfellow to discontinue the practice of wearing it. The Dyaks are satisfied with one, the Kyans, especially the chiefs, with sometimes as many as three at a time. The operation is a painful one for any man to submit to, and if the hole be not driven clear of the urethra the consequences are apt to be serious in the extreme. The member is first immersed in cold water and when numb to all sensation, the glans is compressed sideways between a pair of perforated bamboos, and a pointed brass peg is driven through it with a single blow, but in such a manner as to pass above the urinary canal. The *palang* is then introduced as the peg is slowly drawn out.

I 833

The *palang unus*, as it is called, is also used by the Dyaks. It is a ring, or collar, of plaited palm fibre, furnished with a pair of stiffish horns of the same wiry material. It is worn on the neck of the glans and fits tight to the skin so as not to slip off. The idea is in all probability borrowed from the Malays.

5. *Hunting.*

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Hunting with dogs.—Hunting is with the Sea-Dyaks an occasional pursuit rather than a steady occupation or a necessity of existence. They subsist more upon a vegetable than an animal diet, and they fish far more than they hunt. They only form hunting parties once or twice a year, when the entire village is about to celebrate some periodical festival, and it becomes an imperative duty to provide an abundance as well as a variety of food for the guests. Other tribes devote more time to the chase

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6
Bahau OC5

and less to the soil. The hunter usually proceeds on foot, accompanied by his dogs, which run on ahead and beat up the game, while he dawdles about gathering things on the way that may be useful to him. He knows when his beaters are on the scent by their peculiar clamorous bark, and he hurries up to spear the animal they have brought to bay. A Dyak village swarms with dogs, but few of them are fit for the labours of the chase, being for the most part curs that whine and howl and are of no use whatever, except to consume the refuse food and prowl about the premises. They are small in size and of a tawny colour. The breed is known to the scientific world by the specific name of *canis rutilans*. Some are striped with black, others are plain; they are called *saih* or *sabit*, according as they are one or the other. The former are the fiercer looking of the two. The best of them, that is to say, those employed in the chase, are plucky little animals and will worry a boar three or four times their size and not give in until cruelly mauled. Such dogs are worth their weight in dollars to those who are fond of boar and venison, and invaluable to those tribes who, like the Batakans, depend upon the hunting path for their food.

The quarry is carried on the back in a pack-basket suspended from the shoulders, and is cut up at home. If it is too heavy or too bulky to be transported in this fashion it is either cut up on the spot or dragged by the leg along the ground to the nearest watercourse and conveyed home in a canoe. The Dyaks infinitely prefer pork to venison, the former being the richer, fatter, and juicier of the two; indeed the venison of the country is coarse and devoid of fat. There is no waste in the preparation of animal food. The horns and tusks come in for a variety of uses, ornamental, superstitious, and economical. The larger bones are preserved to be hereafter fashioned into knife handles. The smaller bones are chopped up with the meat and fat to be afterwards salted or smoked as choice may dictate. All pickled food, *makasam*, is esteemed, and especially so pickled pork; pickled venison and pickled fish are devoured with immense satisfaction.

The Kiñahs preserve the skulls and jaws of the animals killed by their dogs in the chase, and of such as they offer in sacrifice; but they abandon them when they abandon the village, for it is not permitted by custom to take them away from one place to another.

Spring bows.—As the woods are full of pig and deer, the Dyaks resort to various contrivances to secure these denizens of the forest. Spring bows are set and pitfalls are dug in likely places for them to run against and tumble into. The *peti*, as

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

the spring bow is called, consists of a single bamboo lance attached to an elastic stem. This lance is laid in a horizontal direction above the ground about the height of the animal it is intended to transfix. A sapling bent for the purpose forms the spring by being held back; a string crosses the path, the least touch of which loosens the spring and forces the bamboo in a straight line across the path and consequently through the animal that may happen to be passing. 224

The *nklubang*, or pitfall, is another common contrivance to impale game. The bottom of the pit is staked with bamboo or iron-wood spikes, and the opening is covered with twigs and leaves so as to be in no way distinguishable from the surrounding vegetation.

Deer snaring.—The *jarieng* is also in use among the Dyaks, the idea being borrowed from their neighbours the Malays. The object is to drive the deer into the meshes of a net and to kill them before they can break through. This sport requires nerve and a quick eye to avoid ugly wounds from the hoofs and antlers. The *jarieng*, as this net is called, is simply a long cane cable with a continuous series of cane loops or nooses depending from it, and standing five feet high; if a single cable be insufficient, two or more are joined together until the required length is attained. A bend of the river is selected where the deer are known to lie hid. The net is then stretched across the narrow neck of land, and upheld in an upright position so as to intercept the stampede into the bush. The party then divides, some to watch the net, others to drive the deer towards it. This they do simultaneously from both sides of the point, yelling and shouting with all their might and barking like dogs to rouse the game. The startled deer spring from their coverts, and bounding towards the forest encounter the net and get entangled in its meshes. Before they have time to extricate themselves they are despatched by the watchers. This sport can be followed in the night time as well as in the day time provided there be moonlight.

Springes.—The smaller kind of game such as porcupine, pheasant, partridge, jungle fowl, &c., are caught in springes, and by these alone a clever woodman can supply daily his family with this kind of food in abundance. The cord made use of for their springes is of their own manufacture, very fine and strong, and made from the inner bark of several kinds of trees. They have also *cage traps*, into which the squirrel and mouse deer are attracted by choice food, and which fall upon and detain them. Pigeons and other birds are caught with springes and *bird lime* placed in the trees which they frequent for food, particularly the different species of *Kasu ara* (ficus) 223

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

223 which are very abundant and on which the many species of these birds delight to feed.

411 The *sumpitan*.—Great accuracy is shown in the way in which this tube is drilled out of a hardwood shaft some seven or eight feet long. Among the Punans it is common to destroy wild boar, deer, &c., with the darts.

●224 *Pig sticking*.—Once a year, when the falling fruit is thickening upon the ground and the pigs have cleaned out one side of the river, they instinctively take to the water and endeavour to reach the opposite bank. The natives know when to expect this wholesale movement on their part, and as the time draws near they form parties to waylay the pigs at various points. They wait patiently for days together, and are rewarded ultimately by spying a herd issue from the forest and plunge into the stream, following their leader in a dense compact mass. When they are well in the current the canoes dash into their midst, sticking them right and left, making enormous bags. As the swine have been feeding upon fruit for some time past they are fatter than usual and their meat is better flavoured.

825 224 *Crocodile hunting*.—From superstitious motives the Dyaks do not interfere with the crocodile until it has developed a man-eating propensity. They then turn out in a body and make war upon the race and slaughter it wholesale. They take the heads and hang them up over the fireplace side by side with the cluster of human heads which depends from the roof. When the Dyaks of Pulo Pisang lost one of their number a few years ago they made a war path and killed sixteen crocodiles in revenge, and when Avan Nyipa, of Batu Gadiang, lost his wife, the Kyans and Sebops turned out *en masse* and destroyed thirty within a month. They probe the bottoms of the pools and other likely places with long poles and compel them to rise to the surface and despatch them with their spears. The Undups believe, or affect to believe, that the crocodiles are partial to their tribe, and they are therefore reluctant to slay them. They say that once upon a time when the king of the crocodiles fell ill and was sick unto death an Undup medicine man was fetched to cure him, and received as his reward a distinct promise of immunity from ravage for himself and his tribe for evermore, notwithstanding which, however, an Undup woman was afterwards seized, but the monster let her go when she screamed out. She was rescued by her friends, who declared that the brute mistook her at first for a Sakarang, but let her go when her voice proclaimed her to be an Undup.

224 The ordinary way to take a crocodile is with a baited wooden hook and slack cable. The most irresistible bait is the carcase of a dead monkey (dog or fowl will do), and the more over-

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

powering the stench the greater is the probability of a bite, as the brute will only swallow putrefying flesh. Fresh meat is carried away between the jaws and hidden in some safe place until it decomposes. The line is a loose one of rattan, many yards in length, and is not made fast, so that the reptile may drag it away with him when he bolts the bait. The buoy at the other end of the line floats on the water and serves as a clue to his whereabouts; and when he is discovered he is hauled ashore and pinioned. While this is being done he is addressed in eulogistic language and beguiled, so to speak, into offering no resistance; but the moment his arms and legs are bound across his back and he is powerless for evil, they howl at him and deride him for his credulity. They then rip up his belly for human remains and hew him to pieces. He struggles furiously at this stage but to no purpose, and is speedily decapitated with an axe. A short stick pointed at both ends is often used instead of a hook, and is secured to the bait in such a fashion that it is swallowed lengthwise. To ensure this result the bait is hung upon a bough overhanging the river, but several feet above the level of the water to oblige the crocodile to spring upwards in order to reach it. The efforts he makes to disgorge the wood work it round so as to stick in his throat crosswise. It is usual to hang a dog higher up in the same tree so that he may attract the cruising reptile by his unhallowed howling.

The Sarawak crocodiles vary in length from ten to twenty-six feet, but the common size is from ten to fifteen feet. They become a public nuisance from the date of their first human meal, and are thereupon hunted to death. Manang Blitang, of Yong, is perhaps the most successful and persistent crocodile trapper in the Rajang River. He is supposed to possess supernatural power over them, and his services are therefore always in request where a seizure has occurred, and the kinsfolk are anxious to discover the whereabouts of the guilty reptile.

The porcupines and monkeys are hunted for their bezoar stones,[1] the squirrels for their fur and their teeth (squirrels' teeth are used for necklace tassels); bears and tiger-cats and panthers are hunted for their canine teeth, their skins being used for war-jackets and seat mats; the hornbills, jungle fowl, and argus pheasants for their plumes for decorating helmets and sword sheaths; the bill of the rhinoceros hornbill is wanted for ear pendants and helmet crests, and crocodile teeth are wanted for ointment cases; bears' teeth and boars' tusks are wanted for charms, and the crimson horn of the *buceros rhinoceros* is used

[1] Calculi formed in their stomachs, much valued as amulets.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

for ear pendants; the helmet of the *galeatus* is used for a sword-buckle.

6. *Fishing.*

The Dyaks are expert anglers, and fishing is with them a favourite occupation. They commence fishing at a very early age, and the habit grows upon them rather than otherwise. They are fond of the water and both swim and dive well. They swim hand over hand like dogs. They never take a header in diving but jump into the water upright, sinking feet first.

Diving for Fish.—They often catch the fish in the upper waters by diving into the rocky pools and pulling them out of the holes and crevices. The *sema* especially are caught in this way.

Curing.—The women cure the fish. They either dry it in the smoke of a wood fire, or cut it up and boil it in brine and so preserve and pickle it, making *makasam ikan*.

Scoop net.—The scoop net is used chiefly by the women who are fond of wading up the shallows, net in hand and basket *suitong*, slung from the shoulder, scooping up the prawns and periwinkles, &c., that come in their way. Sometimes they drop the fish into a hollow gourd which they carry.

Casting net.—The *jala* or casting net in ordinary use is made of *tengang* string dyed claret colour, with *samak* to preserve it, and is weighted with stones if nothing better is to be obtained.

Angling.—They fully understand the use of a bait and invariably bait their hooks. Fish lines are made of the *apieng* palm.

The *Fish-spears* in use are the *penawan* and *serampang*; the penawan is simply a barbed spear with a slender iron fore-shaft; the serampang is a forked spear furnished with a long bamboo shaft, and with either two or three metal prongs.

The *Fish-traps* in every-day use are the *bubu* and *abau*. They are both of stiff basket work and resemble an acorn in shape; the only difference between them is that of size; the latter being infinitely the larger. The traps are made of the ribs of the apieng palm.

Fishing by torchlight.—Another mode of fishing is to creep along the bank in a canoe after dark with a torch in one hand and a fish spear in the other, to stick the mudfish as they rise to the surface confused by the light. Prawns are also caught in this fashion but with a hand net.

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

285 Mats are made either with split cane or from the outer bark of reeds. The women are very clever at plaiting, and some of their mats have beautiful designs.

They also make baskets of different sizes and shapes, some of which have coloured designs worked into them.

●224 Hunting is with the Dyaks an occasional pursuit. They live upon a vegetable rather than upon an animal diet. But in a Dyak house there are generally to be found one or two men who go out hunting for wild pig or deer on any days when they are free from their usual farm work.

[231] The Dyak dogs are small and tawny in colour, and sagacious and clever in the jungle.

Native hunting with good dogs is easy work. The master loiters about, and the dogs beat the jungle for themselves. When they have found a scent, they give tongue, and soon run the animal to bay. The master knows from the peculiar bark of the dogs if they are keeping some animal at bay, and follows them and spears the game. The boars are fierce and dangerous when wounded, and turn furiously on the hunter, who often has to climb a tree to escape from their tusks. The dogs are very useful, and by attacking the hind legs of the animal keep making it turn round.

Deer are more easily run down than pigs, because they have not the strength to go any great distance, especially in the hot weather.

A favourite way of catching deer is to send a man to follow the spoor of a deer, and to find out where it lies to rest during the heat of the day. Then large nets made of fine cane are hung around, and the deer is driven into these by a large number of men, women, and boys making a noise. When the deer is caught in the net, he is soon killed.

A variety of traps are made by the Dyaks to catch

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

224 birds and wild animals. One of these traps (*peti*) set for killing wild pig is a dangerous contrivance by which many Dyaks have lost their lives. It consists of a spring formed by a stick being tied to the end of a post and pulled apart from it. The end of this stick is armed with a sharp bamboo spear. I have known of several men being killed by this trap, and in Sarawak this particular trap is forbidden by the Government to be set.

226 227 The Sea Dyaks are very expert with the rod and line, and with them fishing is a favourite occupation. They begin fishing at an early age. For bait they use worms or certain berries. Their hooks are made of brass wire.

Another method of fishing is by wooden floats (*pelampong*), generally cut in the form of a duck. Each has a baited hook fastened to it, and is set swimming down the stream. The owner of these floats drifts slowly in his canoe after them, watching, till the peculiar motions of any of these ducks shows that a fish has been hooked.

The *achar* is a spoon-bait. A piece of mother-of-pearl shell or some white metal is cut in the form of a triangle. At the apex the line is attached, and at the base are fastened two or three hooks by a couple of inches of line. This appliance is generally used with a rod from the bows, and another man in the stern paddles the boat along.

The Dyaks also have many varieties of fish-traps, which they set in the streams and rivers. Most of these are made of split bamboo.

They also have nets of various kinds; the most popular is the *jala*, or circular casting-net, loaded with leaden or iron weights in the circumference, and with a spread sometimes of twenty feet. Great skill is shown by the 226 Dyak in throwing this net over a shoal of fish which he has sighted. He casts the net in such a manner that all

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

Dyaks have a great dislike of mentioning the name of anyone who is dead. So when a man dies, it is usual for his namesakes in his village to have new names given them.

It is considered a terrible crime to mention the name of the father-in-law or mother-in-law. Though a Dyak does not speak of his father and mother by name, still if he were asked their names, he would give them. But if a man were asked the name of his father-in-law or mother-in-law, he would not tell it, but ask some other person present to do so.

The Dyaks will eat fruit that has fallen from any tree, but if they find fruit by the path, they will never touch it. The reason for this is given in the Dyak legend, "Danjai and the Were-Tiger's Sister" (p. 265).

I remember once walking with some Dyaks, and a man carrying a load of fruit passed us. Farther on we saw some fruit which had evidently dropped from his load, but none of the Dyaks would eat it.

Circumcision is practised among certain Dyak tribes. It is not a religious ceremony, and is not accompanied with the offering of sacrifices or the singing of incantations. All I have been able to learn from such tribes as practise it, is that it has been the custom from ancient days, and so they do it. The cutting of the foreskin is not done with a knife, but with a piece of sharpened bamboo. The custom is by no means universal among the Sea Dyaks.

When going out fishing or hunting it is considered most unfortunate to mention the name of any fish or bird, or to talk of any animal which it is hoped to secure. One evening I was out shooting wild pig, and was sitting in a dug-out, which was paddled up a stream by three Dyaks.

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

224 I said in fun: "There will be plenty of room to put a pig here behind me if we manage to shoot one." The Dyaks all looked horrified, and I was told that saying such a thing as that meant with them the certainty of failure. As it happened, we succeeded in killing a wild pig, and brought it back that evening in the boat. There was much discussion among the people in the Dyak house, and they were surprised at our success after what I had said.

828 758 Madness is looked upon by the Dyaks as possession by some evil spirit. All they can do for it is to call the witch-doctors in to sing their incantations, and exorcise the evil spirit. If no good result follows, and the man is still a violent lunatic, a large wooden cage (*bubong*) is made, and the man is kept in it. This is only done in the case of dangerous and violent madmen. Harmless lunatics and idiots are allowed their freedom.

[417] [732]

758 164 Leprosy is not unknown among the Dyaks, and occasionally cases of it are met with. There used to be a village in the Krian where there were several suffering from leprosy. When the disease is so far advanced as to make it unsafe to let them live with others in the long Dyak house, a separate little hut is put up for them at some distance away. I remember seeing a poor woman who lived by herself in this way. The people from the house would often go and see her, and take her food and water, but sometimes she would be left for days. She told me that once her fire went out, and as no one came to see her for two days, she was unable to cook any food, and had to live as best she could during that time. It must have been a lonely, unhappy life she led, and one can imagine such an one longing for death to end her troubles.

080 The Dyaks mark the time by the position of the sun.

531 so far as we are aware, whereas the *rusa*, which apparently is the least important in this respect, is frequently represented. It may be that the decorative branching antlers, which this species alone possesses, appeal strongly to these artistic women. Deer are regularly hunted with dogs for food, and perhaps success in the chase may be the underlying idea of these representations on the cloths.

Tigers

X 531 136 Highly conventionalized tiger, *remaung*, patterns are frequent on cloths (pl. iv), and in basketry the foot of a *remaung* is sometimes represented. As the true tiger, *remaung bendar*, does not inhabit Borneo, it can be known to the Iban only by repute. Of the six species of *Felis* in Sarawak, by far the most important is the clouded tiger-cat or clouded tree-leopard, *engkuli*, *Felis nebulosa*, and it is the *remaung* most frequently depicted. *F. planiceps*, *jelu mayau*, is often very destructive in the gardens, as it is very fond of fruit, and digs up and eats sweet potatoes. *F. bengalensis*, *mayau kuching bata*, is about the size of a domestic cat and steals fowls; it lives in rocks (*batu*). *F. marmorata*, *remaung rarak*, the marbled cat, is larger than a domestic cat and is very fierce. The other two species are very rare.

X 531 The supernumerary legs and paws which appear in many designs, as in pl. iv, may be suggestive of the agility and ferocity of these animals. The large size of the paws is especially noticeable in most of the designs.

It might be supposed that the patterns were intended to confer strength, agility and fierceness on the wearers, but as the designs are almost confined to the *bidang* of the woman the idea of protection seems here to be indicated, not only of the woman herself but of her crops and fowls.

Interesting designs are the sleeping cats, *mayau tindok*, represented on pl. xvii, *r–u*.

Shrews

X 531 136 The *Gymnura rafflesi*, *aji*, *aji bulan* (*tikus bulan*, "moon rat"; *tikus antu*, "spirit rat", Malay) is the survivor of a Tertiary group of Insectivora. It is not unlike a large rough-haired shrew and it has some affinities with hedgehogs; for convenience it may be termed a shrew. It is mainly white in colour. It is purely nocturnal and lives in the jungle close to water under the

621 141. A *tangga*, such as this, is the only object which can be properly regarded as belonging
423 to the long-house as a whole. This was a topic which I frequently discussed with the Iban, asking
356 them if there was any other kind of property which could be regarded as belonging to the long-house as a whole, and which had resulted from the co-operation of all its members. Always the answer was the same: only the main *tangga* fell into this category, and my own observations brought me to the same conclusion. After a *tanggu* has been erected, its upkeep becomes a general duty, but within a few years, the rites which accompanied its erection fade in the memory, and responsibilities are neglected or evaded. At Rumah Nyala, the main *tangga* provided me with an excellent opportunity to observe Iban responses to corporate obligations. On several occasions it fell into serious disrepair. The usual trouble was the collapse of the side railings, making the slippery, notched log that remained, dangerous for young children. A few days after this had happened, Nyala, the *tuai rumah*, would parade up and down the long-house, announcing the damage obvious to all, and striving to round up a group of helpers. But his exhortations never met with any sort of general response; sometimes one or two unoccupied men would offer their assistance, but more often things would drag on for several days, until Nyala himself would gather the necessary *rotan* lashings, and make good the damage with his own hands.

Co-operation in Economic Affairs.

621 142. The Iban economic system is based on the cultivation of hill *padi*, but here again, there
476 is never co-operation involving the whole community. Each *bilek-family* is self-sufficient econo-
244 mically, managing its own farm as an independent unit. Between small groups of *bilek-families*—especially in felling, dibbling, sowing and weeding—co-operation is customary, but rules of exact reciprocity are very strictly adhered to by all participants. It is, in fact, a system of labour exchange. There is only one phase of the agricultural cycle that is likely to concern the whole long-house: the firing of the farms. If farms adjoin one another, no one of them may be fired until a general conference (*baum*) has been held. This is to avert the danger of fire spreading without warning, and possibly leading to loss of life, or serious ritual offences like the burning of another family's *batu umai* (*whet-stone*). With this one exception, farms are freely managed as individual family ventures.

621 143. Hunting and fishing rights, which are very loosely defined, extend over the whole of
476 the long-house territory, and occasional excursions into the territories of neighbouring communities are not objected to under Iban custom. In small long-houses, large animals, such as deer and pigs, are usually shared among all *bilek-families*, but here again, the principle is one of reciprocity, and all catches are expected to be shared out in the same way. In larger long-houses, the reciprocal
227 groups is usually limited to about half-a-dozen neighbouring *bileks* of closely related kin. Brief
226 mention may also be made of *tuba* fishing, which involves the co-operation of a large number of *bilek-families*. The method followed is to construct a dam (*impang*) across a slow flowing part of a river—a task in which all the men join; then all those participating—men, women and children—
[278] foregather at a chosen spot a mile or two upstream, each *bilek-family* bringing a bundle of *tuba* (Derris alleptica) roots. After the necessary rituals have been performed, the roots are pounded up, and their poisonous juices gathered in canoes which have been half filled with water. This done, the milky fluid that results is all at once emptied into the river, and after an interval of about ten minutes, the whole party paddles off helter-skelter to net and spear the stunned and poisoned fish. Sometimes the whole community will join in the fishing, but participation is in no sense obligatory, and on most occasions it is usual to find persons from neighbouring long-houses also present. Moreover, although all *bilek-families* co-operate in providing the large quantity of *tuba* roots that is needed, there is, once the actual fishing begins, completely open and untrammelled competition. During *tuba* fishing, say the Iban, kinship ties are forgotten. Each *bilek*-family retains the fish which its members succeed in taking, and there is absolutely no attempt to divide up the total catch in equal proportions.

621 144. We may say then, that with the not very important exception of the *tangga*, the Iban
423 long-house community holds no property in common ownership, nor is there any collective ownership of land. Again, in the economic sphere there is an absence of any kind of productive activity by the long-house as a whole.

The Position of Tuai Rumah.

622 145. In every Iban long-house there are two offices of great importance—one secular and the
562 other ritual. They are the positions of *tuai rumah* and *tuai burong*. In most long-houses they are held by different individuals, but it is perfectly permissible for one man to hold both offices, and in some communities this does happen. Neither position is ever held by a woman. (c.f. Footnote No. 22). When used as an adjective, the word *tuai* means old, or mature, but as a noun it refers to any senior and influential member of a community. Here, the emphasis is not primarily
[671] on age, but on the personal qualities of the individual concerned. Thus, a party of young men setting off on an expedition (*bejalai*), to gather jungle produce, always has its leader, or *tuai*, though he may be no more than in his early twenties. And in long-house communities, able, though only middle-aged men often come to exert very considerable authority and influence. In all contemporary long-houses however, there is one man who holds the title of *tuai rumah*, or house headman.

146. Since the pacification of the Iban and the establishment of European government, the position of *tuai rumah* has undergone several important changes. To-day, a *tuai rumah* is looked upon as an intermediary between his long-house and the administrative system. The Government accepts him as the representative of his community, and often he is made responsible for the implementing of its policies. Again, he has been empowered to settle disputes within the jurisdiction of his own long-house. (In the Third Division, "a *tuai rumah* may investigate but shall not try any case the maximum penalty for which exceeds six *mungkuls* under penalty of a fine of one pikul all to Government").[31] This means that the ultimate sanction of a *tuai rumah's*

(31) "Sea Dayak (Iban) Laws, Third Division," Kuching, 1940.

243 their food supply. Gathering of jungle produce is still a relatively
222
3/4 important work by which fruits, chicle, fibers and a number of other items are brought to market and sold. The collection of vegetable leaves, shoots and cabbages of a number of different palms provides the principal supplements to the staple of rice. And when rice runs out and there is no money to buy more, the much-disliked scarcity food, sago, can be collected and processed.

226 Fishing is both a leisure activity and a means for catching the most regular and dependable supply of meat in the Iban diet. The Ibans are most adapt at exploiting the rivers and streams along which they live, their techniques depending upon the conditions of the water, the habits of the fish and other aquatic life, and whether they intend to consume the catch personally or to sell it to members of their long-house or in the market. The introduction of fish-ponds has provided a much more dependable source of meat.

224 Hunting provides a diversion from other activities, but game is
244 not plentiful in this District. Gardening is assuming more importance among a number of Ibans, but the inclination is to plant cash crops rather than vegetables for personal consumption.

4/64 The uncertainty of returns from rice cultivation, together with
243 the orientation of Ibans to a cash economy and to goods which can be
437 purchased with money, has prompted members of every longhouse to seek employment.

243 Because of the plethora of pests, and in an attempt to cope
782 with them, as soon as the fields are fertilized, the ritual Ngemali Umai ("Making the Farm Taboo") is observed. Offerings similar to those already described are made at the farm, and supplications to the antu chit, antu pipit ("spirits of the rat and sparrow") are made, beseeching them to accept the rice, cakes and eggs and take off to the sea, but leave the farms alone. Following the ritual, no one from the family is allowed to go to the farm for three days. The paths to the farm are marked with a leaf placed in the slot of a stick, to indicate that the farm is taboo, and anyone trespassing onto it is liable to a fine.

243 Except in the case of farms located "at the foot of the ladder"
349 (di kaki tangga'), every family has a langkau umai or farm hut where members can stay to guard the rice when it comes to fruit. The langkau is built of split bamboo flooring on bamboo supports, with roof and walls of woven nipa or sago leaves, having an overall size of about twelve square feet. There are no divisions in the langkau and the single door opens directly onto an uncovered porch which commands a view of the rice-field.

243 The decimation of the animal population that has accompanied the
224 clearing of forests in the District has reduced greatly the problem of losses due to wild pigs and deer, but occasionally such animals do small damage to the new rice and give a welcomed opportunity to mount a hunt-which almost always proves unsuccessful but provides an outing for the men and boys.

243 242 More serious threats to the rice crops are posed by insects, particularly bengas (leaf and plant hoppers), empangau rungkup (black shield bug), ulat giling (leaf folder), and pasak (stem-borer). Sprays and poisons help to control such pests but a constant vigil must be kept, and occasionally Ibans complain of the loss of their entire crops to [825] these insects. Other insects such as locusts (buntak rusa'), crickets (buntak antu), and grasshoppers (buntak) are gathered by small children and roasted over an open fire.

243 Birds and rats are the other major threats to rice crops in the District, and the damage they may wreak stress the importance of an isochronic fruiting of the rice. For, unless a number of fields come to fruit at about the same time, the predators will concentrate on those crops that fruit either earlier or later than the majority, upon which they will spread themselves out.[13] To protect the rice against these [224] pests numerous devices are employed. Men build traps, such as the tinja', "a spring-pole snare with a tread-board and key-stick' (Freeman 1955:199) and panjok, another type of spring-trap, for catching birds. Young children smear bird-lime (sempulut) on sticks which are secured to the ground or a shrub to catch birds which alight on the gummy bird-lime.

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[13] In one noteworthy attempt at double-cropping, and agronomist at Nanga Mujong, Batang Balleh, found that it is possible to farm twice a year, but only if everyone does it, so that the sparrows eat here and there and don't concentrate on one or two fields.

231 Almost all families keep (nginang) chickens and pigs for gawai.
235 In more traditional houses, the chickens are kept in rattan cages (kerungan) which are suspended from the underside of the ruai or common verandah. In more modern houses, there often are separate chicken-houses. Pigs roam around and beneath the longhouse, feeding off the droppings that fall through the slats of the floor, or off sago logs. In some areas, the [654] pigs are kept penned in front of the house or beneath it. A number of Ibans have taken advantage of a program of subsidies provided by the Agriculture Department to put pig-houses and improve their stock.

231 Although hunting is an infrequent activity and adds little to the [224] food-supply of the Ibans of this District, yet dogs are kept by almost every bilik-family, and in some houses threaten to outnumber and even outeat the human population. In most houses, dogs have the roam of the ruai where their steps revereberate on the loosely placed planks. When their presence becomes bothersome, a swift kick or punch sends them scurrying away. Cats prowl over the bilik walls and through the loft in search of rats and other prey.

In a few longhouses, larger stock and other fowl such as ducks and geese are kept. Some individuals have purchased goats, water-buffalo and cattle which have been imported by Government or church-related agricultural programs. In most cases, attempts at keeping these types of livestock have not been successful due to inadequate and improper food-supplies, or conditions that were too unhealthy for the stock. Where they